1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

224 The dog was unknown in Pukapuka. The native rat (*Mus exulans*)
244 was caught with the rat trap (*raka kiole*) when it became a pest in the talo beds but was never eaten. Rats were never hunted with weapons for sport.

Though many stories are told about cannibals, cannibalism was probably
261 not practiced on Pukapuka. The use of human bone was tapu (*ya*), pun-
784 ishable by the goddess Taua (p. 309).

Meals and Food Etiquette

264 No routine of set meals is followed. The nature and number of meals eaten by one household group on any one day depend entirely on the amount of food on hand and the program of work for the day:

> If the men have been fishing early in the morning, the family has a meal of fish and *ipipi* some time before 9 o'clock. If there has been no fishing and if there is no left-over supply of fish or taro, a regular meal is not eaten; each individual makes a fresh coconut or *ato* nut do. The Pukapukan feels no need for food before he starts work in the morning and may work until 10 or 11 o'clock without refreshment. A child going to school in the morning takes with him a drinking nut to eat as he walks along the road. A regular meal may not be eaten by a household for a whole day, sometimes even for the best part of two days. Before the second day has passed, fish is procured by some male member of the household and grilled for a formal meal, usually in the evening, not infrequently at 9 or 10 o'clock at night after the torch fishing. It was not unusual for us to be wakened in the middle of the night by a returning fisherman bringing us fish on the supposition that we would get up and eat it immediately. Our practice of eating at regular hours was always a matter of discussion and comment.

264 The words *kai*, *tauumanya*, *umanyama*, *laoulama* apply to eating, whether
574 by an individual alone or by a group, whether of a single coconut or of
931 an elaborate meal. There is no Pukapukan word for guest or host, nor is there any custom of entertaining friends or relatives for an occasional meal in the household. Special indebtedness is repaid by sending food gifts to the home of the friend.

264 Whether the meal is taken inside the cook house or outside on the open
576 ground—as is usual for a meal on a fine evening—men, women, and children all sit on coconut-leaf (*inkapua*) mats, with crossed legs tucked under them. They sit in rows opposite each other. The food platters (*laulau*) are set (*uukalaulaua*) on *polapola* coconut mats in the middle. It is customary to rise and leave the group when satisfied (*yangia*). The food is taken from the center platters with the fingers in individual mouthfuls. Food etiquette is remarkable by its absence. There are no rules taught to the child on the correct way to eat food. There is no prescribed manner of chewing. Loud sucking, belching, gurgling, and loud smacking of the lips are all in good taste. The food may be packed into the mouth in any fashion. As it is divided into individual shares on the platters before being served, there is no opportunity for the quick eater to obtain more than his share of food.

539 The twins paddled off to the island where Luka lived. The people of this island seized them, placed them in an enclosure and planned to kill them on the third night. The older twin chanted his cry:

Light raised the shadow on Lotutu,
We were born Te-mangaitua and Te-mangaialo,
We two shall be eaten by our progenitor,
By our father, Luka!

Luka and the people of the island heard their cry. Luka questioned them as to their coming. When he heard the reason, he decided to return with his children to his wife on the island of Lotutu. The twins warned him against this but Luka was stubborn. As the canoe came near to Lotutu, Leiakunavai counted the heads. Six people she saw. She entered a Pandanus log and cried "Ngi, ngi! " like a rat. When the children and Luka arrived at her house she was gone.

Giants of Tongaleleva

This is a story from Tongaleleva. Te-wuloa and Te-wupoto were wife and husband. They came from foreign lands. When they walked on the sea their heads rose into the sky. So swift was their walk that all the fish in the sea were thrown here and there by the speed of their passage. They seized and ate all the man-eating fish of the sea. When they landed on the island of Tunatau to sleep, their snoring was like the beating of thunder. Those people who walked close to them were inhaled up the giants' nostrils, so great was the rush of air.

When they ate, they fed continuously for ten days and nights. When they slept, they slept for six months at a stretch. When they cohabited, it took them six moons to finish. When their children were born they were gigantic animals.

The giants lived on Tunatau for a long time. Then the people became tired of being inhaled up the nostrils of the giants. The people became angry. There was a fight and the giants were chased back to Tongaleleva.

Tales of Man-eaters

538 Grouped together here are all the tales of man-eating persons
266 (tangata kai tangata) or demons (tupua kai tangata). The phrase
578 kai tangata is used in ordinary speech to refer to anyone who
154 is brutal, ferocious, cruel, or just mean. In these stories, however, it invariably refers to a creature who eats people, both adults and children. In one instance the cannibal is a god. Most of the man-eater stories tell first of the eating of a person,

538 and then of the punishment or killing of the man-eater by
266 another man or group of people. The punishment, which is
578 often as ferocious and brutal as the original crime, is related
154 by the narrator with great emphasis and graphic detail.

It will be noted that cannibals in these stories are exceptional persons, usually in foreign lands; only in three instances is Pukapuka the locus of the incidents (the stories of Te Atuapula, Witielo and Papalangi). The Pukapukans themselves say that their ancestors did not indulge in cannibalism at any time in the history of the atoll, and this statement seems to be substantiated by the absence of incidents of cannibalism in stories about historical personages. It is in these almost mythical tales about man-eating persons that one finds the only approach in Pukapukan culture to what has been termed elsewhere the "wihtigo psychosis", a psychotic craving for human flesh. In these stories the death of the man-eater is invariably accompanied by much apparently sadistic cruelty in which the cannibal is pounded apart piecemeal. The relatively large number of these stories in the folklore and traditions of the Pukapukans must be significant, and it is likely that their telling provided and provides even today, an outlet for repressed homicidal and sadistic tendencies, which might otherwise break out into actual violence, which would be especially dangerous because of the small population cooped up on the tiny atoll. Accounts of apparent group homicidal mania have been given previously [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 391-393, category 116--analyst]; these might perhaps have been more numerous but for the vicarious
[55] satisfaction provided by the man-eater type of story.
[92] Another point of interest is the possible significance of the "eating" concept prefixed to many and various phrases: ule kaina or wu kaina, "penis (desired) to eat, or vagina (desired) to eat", used as a greeting of especial warmth to an esteemed person, or to a younger person from whom a favor is desired or received; kaina e te miti, "eaten up by dreams", of a person who has had many dreams in one night; kai wale, "eating house" and kai wemua, "afterbirth eating", applied to a person who has committed incest; kai palanga, "eat feces", an oath or term of scorn; kai pulu tau tape, "eat menstrual pads", an oath or insult; kai used as a synonym in chants for the act of coitus. In all these foregoing is an association of the mouth with either desirable or horrible things, or acts, an association perhaps to be explained only in terms of analytic theory.

It may be noted finally that the Pukapukan idiom to express the idea of "revenge", is the phrase langa te imu (prepare the

538 oven). Here there is another association with the cooking
266 and eating of food, as if the ultimate revenge can only be
578 gained through the eating of the hated person. Insofar as
154 there are no records in Pukapuka of actual cannibalism, this expression for revenge, together with the other eating concepts above, presumably have reference to a deep seated vicarious satisfaction obtained from the use of these idioms and concepts.

Of Wawine-mata

539 Wawine-mata was a man-eating woman. Her child was a small infant. One day she wished to go looking for food so she searched among the houses for a woman to care for her child while she was away. She found a woman named Tulekaleka (10) who agreed to watch over the infant while the mother was away. Wawine-mata gave explicit instructions about the child: if it cried, Tulekaleka was to give it water; if it hungered, Tulekaleka was to feed it coconut flesh.

After Wawine-mata had left, the infant began to cry in hunger. Tulekaleka fed it coconut flesh. Then she tore off the child's arm and ripped out its liver. The infant died. Tulekaleka washed off the blood from the corpse and wrapped it up nicely in a mat. She baked the infant's liver in the oven.

Wawine-mata returned to find Tulekaleka sitting quietly beside the bundled up infant. She thought the child was asleep and wished to wake it but Tulekaleka persuaded her to let it lie until she had tasted a portion of delicious food that she produced from the oven. Wawine-mata tasted, then praised the food, asking for more. She became thirsty and Tulekaleka took the coconut containers to fill them at the well. Instead of filling them, however, she smashed them one by one against a stone. Wawine-mata saw this. Suddenly she turned to her bundled infant. She opened the mat to find inside the dead

[171] 10. The sex of the individual Tulekaleka is of comparative importance because of the fact that Kennedy [see bibliographical references in 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 416, category 113 or 116--analyst.] reports from Vaitupu a story very similar to this in which Tulekaleka was a boy. In recording this story we assumed that the Pukapukan Tulekaleka was female. Informants agreed by letter that this was correct, all save two very reliable elderly men, who were positive that the Pukapukan character was an adult man.